


A lag sha Ngag dbang bstan dar (1759-after August 1, 1840) on some Chinese Lexemes and the Chinese Language, Part Two*

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 recounted the little that we know about Ngag dbang bstan dar's life in Part One of this essay that was published in the volume that honors the work of my old comrade in studies, Franz-Karl Ehrhard.¹ There, I began my exposition of his references to Chinese, and the present contribution continues in the same vein and constitutes the second and last part of the essay.

As far as Ngag dbang bstan dar's scholarship in general is concerned, he is especially known for his vignette-like glosses on several important texts, for his relatively short tracts dealing with the knowledge-domain of language (*sgra'i rig gnas*), which includes grammar, poetics and lexicography, with logic and epistemology, as well as for a number of commentaries on shorter works. Several of these he never completed and we must be grateful to the unknown editor[s] of

* The following abbreviations are used:

BSTAN *Bstan 'gyur [dpe bsdur ma]*. Ed. Krung go'i bod rig pa zhib 'jug lte gnas kyi bka' bstan dpe sdur khang. Beijing: Krung go'i bod rig pa dpe skrun khang, 1994-2008. 120 vols.

NGAG1[1,2] *Collected Gsung 'bum of Bstan dar lha ram of A lag sha*. 2 vols. New Delhi: Lama Guru Deva. 1971.

NGAG2 *Bstan dar lha rams pa'i gsung 'bum*. Edited by Ser gtsug nang bstan dpe rnying 'tshol bsdu phyogs sgrig khang. Lhasa: Bod ljongs mi dmangs dpe skrun khang, 2008.

This paper was first presented on October 16, 2021 at the *International Symposium on Eurasian and Buddhist Philology in Memoriam of Professor Tschen Yin-Koh* that was held at Tsinghua University on October 15-17, 2021. My gratitude goes out to Profs. Shen Weirong and Wu Juan, and to Drs. Hou Haoran and Yao Shuang for their kind invitation and correspondence. As in Part One, I should like to thank my friend Christoph Cüppers for having read an earlier incarnation of this essay and for pointing out some infelicities and errors.

¹ See van der Kuijp 2019. There, in connection with tea and tea drinking in the Tibetan area, I was unaware of the excellent dissertation on the subject in Booz 2011, and the fine master's thesis of Li 2013 to which we may now add Benn 2015 and Sun 2021. And I was equally unaware of Choġtu [= Čoγtu]1999 – the bibliographical entry in Ujeed 2009: 228 drew my attention to this work - and the biographical sketch of Ngag dbang bstan dar's life in Powers 2016: 118-121.

his "complete" works for nonetheless including these fragments in his *gsung 'bum*. Not the usual traditional scholar, he was also interested in more practical matters as is indicated in his fascinating study of the weights, measures, and currencies of India, Tibet, and China and their relative valuations in the past as well as in the present, a work that should prove of interest to someone studying aspects of Tibetan economic history.² Further details about this work are given below and in the Appendix.

Over the years, several studies of his more philosophical writings were published in the secondary literature, and they will be duly signaled in my essay on his examination of Dignāga's (6th c.) **Hetucakraḍamaru* that is currently under preparation. One of the interesting features of his oeuvre as a whole is his obvious sensitivity to philological and text-critical issues, and he frequently points out variant readings in the texts that he cites. His works show furthermore that he was a discerning critic and that he did not shy away from setting things straight that, in his opinion, had gone awry.

An example of this may be taken from his tract on weights and measures, currencies, and their respective values in the context of what constitutes the infraction of stealing, "to take what is not given" (*ma byin gyi len pa, adattādāna*), according to *vinaya*-canon law and how much of value needs to be stolen to warrant the perpetrator's excommunication or expulsion [or near-expulsion] from the Buddhist community. Depending on the value of what has been taken when it was not given such an act may or may not constitute a *pārājika-pham pa* violation, one for which, in its most severe case, a monk will be "excommunicated" from the assembly.³ The problem of course was how to calculate value, especially diachronically and under different social circumstances and geographical regions! In the course of his deliberations, Ngag dbang bstan dar addresses a problem with an alleged canonical source that he found cited in the Tibetan literature; he writes⁴:

...gzhan yang 'grel pa shes rab 'byed pa'i lung yig cha rnam su
drangs pa yod cing / sde dge'i bstan 'gyur khrod na 'grel pa shes
rab 'byed pa zer ba e mi bzhugs shing / 'grel pa prajndza ka ra zer

² This is his *Ma byin len gyi pham pa'i rin thang gi tshad bshad pa 'khrul spong mkhas pa'i dgyes byed mchod yon rnam dag*, for which see NGAG1[1], 730-755, and NGAG2, 433-448, and below in the Appendix.

³ For an excellent study of this offense and the various legal issues that are implied by it, without going into any detail about the values of the material goods that may be stolen, see Kieffer-Pülz 2011.

⁴ NGAG1[1], 748-749, and NGAG2, 444. Truth be told, there is something that is not quite fluent with the syntax of this passage. For example, to read ...gzhan yang 'grel pa shes rab 'byed pa'i lung yig cha rnam su drangs pa yod la /, makes much better sense! I have made certain adjustments without, I hope, violating its meaning.

ba gcig mchis pa 'grel pa shes rab 'byed pa la ngos 'dzin dgos pa 'dra na'ang yig cha rnams su drangs pa'i lung tshig der mi rnyed pas / des na so thar 'grel pa glang po che chu 'thung zhes pa sngon khri srong lde btsan gyi dus su yod par / dran dbang sang rgyas rgya mtshos g.ya sel du gsungs kyang [749] deng sang mi bzhugs pa bzhin 'di yang de dang 'dra ba yin nam dpyad par 'tshal /

...furthermore, there is a scriptural source from the *Shes rab 'byed pa* [**Prajñāvibhāga*] commentary that is cited in monastic text-books and the so-called *Shes rab 'byed pa* commentary is not at all contained in the *Sde dge Bstan 'gyur* collection.⁵ And even if it may be necessary to identify the commentary titled *Prajñākara*⁶ [= *Shes rab byed pa*] as the *Shes rab 'byed pa*, we do not find therein the wording of what is quoted in the text-books. Hence, although the powerful scholar⁷ Sangs rgyas rgya mtsho (1653-1705) has stated in the *G.ya sel* that there existed a **Pratimokṣa [sūtra]* commentary [sub]titled *Glang po che chu 'thung ba* in earlier times during the era of king Khri srong lde btsan (c. 742-800)⁸ - it is also likewise not extant today -, one should inquire whether also this [*Shes rab 'byed pa*] is similar to that.

There is also no question that Ngag dbang bstan dar had the courage

⁵ We can add here that this work is also not listed in the *vinaya* section of the other *Bstan 'gyur* xylographs, for which see *BSTAN*, vols. 84-93. But he refers to a work with this title in *NGAG1*[1], 743, and *NGAG2*, 440, as if this is the title that is cited in Dalai Lama I Dge 'dun grub's (1391-1474) study of the *vinaya*. It is not! Both available xylographs have *Shes rab byed pa!*; see Dalai Lama I 1978-1981: 191 and No date: 253. For reasons that remain to be investigated, the Lhasa Zhol printing blocks for Dalai Lama I's '*Dul ſik rin chen phreng ba*, were only prepared as late as 1896 under the aegis of Dalai Lama XIII Ngag dbang blo bzang thub bstan rgya mtsho (1876-1933).

⁶ For this work, the *Vinayasūtraṅvākyāna* that was written by *Prajñākara*, see *BSTAN*, vol. 92, 3-773.

⁷ My rendition of *dran dbang* is based on the entry for this term in *Btsan lha* 1997: 340.

⁸ *Sde srid* 1976: I, 269. No work by this name is listed in the *Lhan dkar ma* or the '*Phang thang ma*, the earliest extant catalogs of translated scripture. Ngag dbang bstan dar also mentions this work in his undated *So thar sdom pa 'bogs chog gi lhan thabs legs bshad gser thur*, a study of the liturgy of the transmission of the *pratimokṣa* vows - see *NGAG1*[1], 701, and *NGAG2*, 416 - where he cites the *Las ſik*, that is, Bu ston Rin chen grub's (1290-1361) 1357 commentary on Guṇaprabha's (7th c.) *Ekottarakarmaśataka*; see Bu ston 1971a: 844. Gser mdog Paṅ chen Shākya mchog ldan (1428-1507) cites the same passage from Bu ston in his 1472 exegesis of the text - see Gser mdog Paṅ chen 2013: 288. Some Tibetan scholars seem to have held that Vinītadeva (8th c.) had written the *Ekottarakarmaśataka*, but such commentators as Bu ston and Gser mdog Paṅ chen never wavered in their view that its author was Guṇaprabha.

of his own ideas and that he often waxed quite brilliantly in his philosophical works. Some years ago, Jampa Panglung suggested that he was not averse even to take Dalai Lama V Ngag dbang blo bzang rgya mtsho (1617-1682) in the cross hairs, in this case, apropos of the origins of the *tsha gsur/bsur* ritual complex. This ritual or ceremony involves the burning of food in a pot of clay so as to feed those who are in the intermediate state between death and rebirth (*bar do ba*) with the smell of food, since these disembodied entities are of course unable to eat a solid meal! Jampa Panglung was of the opinion that he had criticized Dalai Lama V in his *Tsha gsur la dogs gcod pa'i 'khrul spong dgongs pa rab gsal*,⁹ an undated work that, in his view, was quite explicitly written against Dalai Lama V's *Bsur chog gi rim pa yid bzhin 'dod 'jo* - we should include here also Dalai Lama V's *Dkar cha bzhi'i dga' ston phan bde'i 'dod 'jo*.¹⁰ Ngag dbang bstan dar cites both works and it is true that in both, the Dalai Lama had argued that, firstly, no canonical texts, not even those belonging to the literature of the Old School [Rnying ma pa], contain any mention of such a ritual and that, secondly, in any event, no one in the intermediate state can be nourished or gain enjoyment from such 'food.' Ngag dbang bstan dar tells us what had motivated him to write his work on the topic at hand. A Qalqa Mongol anchorite in Ulaanbaatar had wondered why the *Gsur*-singed ritual practice that had been so widespread among the Qalqa had ever fewer virtuosi of this ritual, and this had led Ngag dbang bstan dar to look for reasons. He first cites the misgivings that the Dalai Lama had voiced in these two little texts. However, contrary to Panglung's view that Ngag dbang bstan dar had rejected the Dalai Lama's claims out right, a closer reading reveals that he really did not do so. Thus, Ngag dbang bstan dar writes after his citations from the two relevant texts of the Dalai Lama that¹¹:

*lnga pa chen pos kyang rang lugs la tsha gsur khungs med du bzhed
pa ma yin par / rgyud sde bzhi'i nyer spyod kyi mchod pa'i nang gi
bdug spos phul ba'i tshig ji snyed pa dang / 'dod yon lnga'i dri phul
ba'i tshig ji snyed byung ba thams cad dang bsangs kyi cho ga
rnams de'i khungs su bzhed par gsal te...*

⁹ NGAG1[2], 710-729, and NGAG2, 848-859, and Panglung 1985.

¹⁰ Dalai Lama V 2009a and 2009b. Both are undated. The first actually comprises two different texts of which the first is the *Bsur chog gi rim pa yid bzhin 'dod 'jo* that was written at the behest of Dbu mdzad Blo bzang yon tan, Brag sna Chos rje Blo bzang ngag dbang, and Ri khrod pa Blo bzang chos 'phel, while he wrote the second, untitled work for Sde pa Blo bzang mthu stobs, his right-hand man, who acted as his *sde srid*, his secular but subordinate counterpart, from 1669 to 1774. He wrote the second, the *Dkar cha bzhi'i dga' ston phan bde'i 'dod 'jo*, for his relative Ldum po ba Nor bu dar rgyas.

¹¹ NGAG1[2], 710-729, and NGAG2, 848-859.

It not being the case that the Great Fifth [= Dalai Lama V], too, claimed for his own position that *tsha gsur* had no authentic source, it is clear that he claimed as its authentic source [1] all of the entire wording of the offering of incense among the offering rituals of the practice of the four tantra classes, [2] all of the entire wording for offering fragrance of the five objects that engender cupidity-attachment,¹² and [3] the rituals associated with *bsangs*-smoke offerings.¹³

Indeed, the Dalai Lama himself had said in his *Bsur chog gi rim pa yid bzhin 'dod 'jo* that even if there were no explicit literary source for this ritual, there is nonetheless some benefit that can be derived from it (*'on kyang 'di la phan yon cung zad 'byung*), and he follows this up by detailing these very kinds of benefit.¹⁴

Panglung closed his essay by concluding that this ritual "must be sought in pre-Buddhist beliefs" of the Tibetans and indeed points to a Bon po text from Dunhuang, Pelliot tibétain 1042, in which the term *gsur*, "singed, something slightly burned," occurs. This manuscript, which was of course not available to either Dalai Lama V or Ngag dbang bstan dar, was *inter alia* studied by M. Lalou, R.A. Stein, and Chu Junjie.¹⁵

As was shown in Part One of this essay, Ngag dbang bstan dar had some competence in Chinese, a competence that he had probably picked up, first, in his native land, and then especially during his stay in Beijing. The present paper further opens the aperture on this theme and is thus a continuation of an assessment of his use or mention of the Chinese language as well as its conclusion.

¹² I am not entirely sure what this may mean, but I opted for the *'dod pa'i yon tan lnga* entry in Nor brang 2008: 1110, where the five are: beautiful color-shape, mellifluous sound, fragrant smell, sweet taste, and soft to the touch.

¹³ NGAG1[2], 714, and NGAG2, 849. This statement will probably not dispel the widespread view that the burning of *bsangs*, juniper, has no Indian Buddhist precedent, even though Ngag dbang bstan dar has written in NGAG1[2], 717, and NGAG2, 851, that: "Those who say that positioning *bsangs*-smoke offerings and the receptacles [= statues] of worldly deities belong to the eternal Bon tradition and not to the Buddhist tradition of the Indians is the meaningless chatter of not having been able to trace their scriptural sources..." (*bsangs mchod dang 'jig rten pa'i lha rten btsugs pa dag ni g.yung drung bon gyi lugs yin gyi rgya gar pa'i chos lugs min zhes smra ba rnams lung khungs rtsad ma chod pa'i 'chal gtam yin (...)*), at which point he indicates the sources for the *bsangs*-offering that he had adduced earlier and also adds a number of sources for constructing statuary for the so-called worldly deities. A valuable collection of different *bsang* offering rituals is Chab 'gag 2006.

¹⁴ Dalai Lama V 2009a: 456.

¹⁵ See Lalou 1952, Stein 1970, and Chu 1991. For the occurrence and notion[s] of *bon* in the Tibetan Dunhuang corpus, see the dossier compiled by and studied in van Schaik 2013a.

In addition to the Chinese words that I referenced in Part One, he mentions three more in the tract on traditional weights, measures, types of currency and their relative values that I mentioned earlier.¹⁶ This fascinating treatise bears a full and careful study. It will be readily noticed that, in some places, I have not been very successful in fully understanding the terminologies used therein and I am sure that a future study of this work can improve on what I have written here. Its core title indicates that it deals with the amount/measure (*tshad*) of value (*rin thang*) for the transgression of taking what has not been given, that is, theft. For its structure and Ngag dbang bstan dar's Tibetan sources, see the Appendix to this paper. A full topical outline is given in the Appendix, but for now it will suffice to note that it falls into the following three main parts:

1. An explanation of the measure of a *zho* and a *srang* (*zho srang gi tshad bshad pa*)
NGAG1[1], 732-740, and NGAG2, 433-438
2. An explanation of the measure of value (*rin thang gi tshad bshad pa*)
NGAG1[1], 740-749, and NGAG2, 438-444

¹⁶ This is his *Ma byin len gyi pham pa'i rin thang gi tshad bshad pa 'khrul spong mkhas pa'i dgyes byed mchod yon rnam dag*, for which see above n. 2. A similarly difficult work is the Sde srid's replies to several questions about currencies, weights, measures, and values posed to him by Bstan srung rnam rgyal (?1646-after 1699), then king of Sikkim, for which see the text in Spen pa lha mo 2014: 292-305, and its Chinese translation by Rdo bis Tshe ring rdo rje *et al.* in Spen pa lha mo 2014: 124-132. My thanks to my former student Dr. Sun Penghao for providing me with a copy of this volume. These questions were prompted by the Sde srid's 1681 work on administrative law; see Sde srid 1989. Schuh 2015: 168 ff. includes a study of the bewildering Tibetan vocabulary in the King's second question and the Sde srid's response in Spen pa lha mo 2014: 297-298 [Ch. tr. 127-128]. For useful but still incomplete surveys of Tibetan weights, measurements, valuations, etc., see the German language Wikipedia article *Tibetische Maßeinheiten* and D. Martin's blog *Tiblical/measurements/numbers*. For Tibetan currencies, see Boulnois 1983, Xiao (1987) and Bertsch (2002), which is the standard work on the subject in English, and D. Schuh's article "Gold und Goldmünzen" in [primarily] his *tibet-encyclopedia.de/gold-goldmuenzen.htm*; the Wikipedia article "Historical Money of Tibet" is also quite useful. For all of these weights, measurements, and valuations in the Indian subcontinent, see the monumental synchronic study of Wilson 1855 and the ever so useful work of Sircar 1968. Titled *The Power of Wealth – Economy and Social Status in Pre-Modern Tibetan Communities*, the issue of *Revue d'Etudes Tibétaines* 57 (2021) has much to offer about various economic activities, but not in terms of methods of measurement and relative valuations of currencies. Last but not least, the lengthy and highly informative Wikipedia article "Qing dynasty coins" illustrates the numismatic complexities of the period

3. An Exposition of my own position
 (*rang gi lugs rnam par gzhas pa*)
 NGAG1[1], 749-755, and NGAG2, 444-448

Right or wrong, Ngag dbang bstan dar begins his narrative by writing that there is no agreement among the learned about the measure of value. And since Indic and Tibetan scholars did not explain the measure of the *zho* (*karṣa/kārṣa*) and *srang* (*pala*), he will first take up this topic. He writes that Indians and Tibetans used grain (*srana ma*), rosary peas (*dmar ru mgo nag*), barley (*nas*), rice (*'bras bu*) and the like as substances (*rdzas*) to measure goods, whereas broomcorn millet (*khre'am drus ma*) was used in China. For a survey of the Indic terminology, he cites *Amarakoṣa*, II: 9: 85d-86a,¹⁷ for additional terms like *guñja* [= rosary pea] and *māśaka* [= bean] that were used for measurements, Guṇaprabha's *Vinayasūtra* for the valuation that four *ka ka ni* [= *kākiṇī*] make up one *ma sha ka* [= *māśaka*], and the latter's **Svavyākhyāna*-commentary for the idea that one *ma sha ka* make up eight *se ba*.¹⁸ Of course, the problem with these and other Indic sources that may be marshalled for shedding light on the subject is that there is no hard evidence that any universal standards existed in the entire subcontinent for weights, measures, and currencies, either synchronically or diachronically. And we need to apply this caveat for the Tibetan area as well as is made quite clear in some of the passages that he cites and that are cited below. Aside from primarily religious sources that deal with the sociology of the monastery and the punishments that are meted out for such transgressions by the clergy as theft, it is obvious that Tibetan legal, that is,

¹⁷ For the reference to the *Amarakoṣa*, see Amarasimha 1940: 87; for some Tibetan references, see BSTAN, vol. 110, 473, and BSTAN, vol. 110, 634. In these, the text reads: *ma [tu sic!] ru lnga sogs mā sha ka / de rnams bcu drug zho gnyis te //*, rather than Ngag dbang bstan dar's citation: *kuñja* (read: *guñja*) *lnga sogs ma sha ka / de dag bcu drug zho gnyis te //*, both of which should correspond to Sanskrit: ...*guñjāḥ pañcādhyamāśaka // te ṣoḍaśākṣaḥ* ... For the various editions and translations of the Tibetan text of the *Amarakoṣa* [and Subhūticandra's commentary] see the somewhat editorially mangled text of van der Kuijp 2009a and now also Deokar 2020 and the literature cited therein, including her meticulous study of the first portion of this work. 'Jam dbyangs bzhad pa'i rdo rje II Dkon mchog 'jigs med dbang po's (1728-1791) edition of the Tibetan text of the bilingual edition of the *Amarakoṣa* that his predecessor 'Jam dbyangs bzhad pa'i rdo rje I Ngag dbang brtson 'grus (1648-1721/22) had prepared in *circa* 1715/16 has: *ma ru lnga sogs mā sha ka / de rnams bcu drug karṣaḥ ste //*; see 'Jam dbyangs bzhad pa'i rdo rje I 1972-1974: 701. On the other hand, Si tu Paṅ chen Chos kyi 'byung gnas (1699-1774) has in his bilingual edition: *ma ru lnga sogs srana khre'u'i tshad // de bcu drug zho zho tshad ni //*; see Si tu Paṅ chen 1990: 150, who evidently also read ...*karṣaḥ*, but *karśa* and *akṣa* are synonyms for the Terminalia Bellirica known for its bedda nuts.

¹⁸ For the *Vinayasūtra* and the **Svavyākhyāna* references, see BSTAN, vol. 88, 871, and BSTAN, vol. 89, 83; see also Nakagawa 1996.

secular texts will have much to say about weights, relative valuations, and currencies. For example, a number of passages of the Gtsang pa Sde srid legal code that was issued by Karma bstan skyong dbang po (1606-1642) are potentially quite rewarding in this respect.¹⁹

Having cited some Indic sources, Ngag dbang bstan dar then quotes at length Dalai Lama V's study of aspects of *vinaya*-canon law, which he completed in 1679.²⁰ The passage that he cites belongs to the section on theft and begins with distinguishing between two types of *kar ṣa pa ṇa* (< *kar / kāṛṣāpaṇa*), a real one (*mtshan nyid pa*)²¹ and a nominal one (*btags pa ba*) that have the same value (*rin [thang]*). The actual one is forged from precious metals, whereas the nominal one is made from such things as cowrie shells (*mgron / 'gron bu*), etc. Dalai lama V cites a reply of Zhwa lu Lo tsā ba Rin chen chos skyong bzang po (1441-1528) to a query on theft in which the latter had stated that one-fourth (*bzhi cha*) of a *kāṛṣāpaṇa* is equal to a pair of golden *se ba* (*gser se ba do*).²²

Having laid down some terminological groundwork, Ngag dbang bstan dar then discusses the meaning and valuations of *guñja*, *kākaṇṭi*, and *se ba*. It is in connection with his discussion of *se ba*²³ that he

¹⁹ For the Tibetan text and its Chinese translation, see Spen pa lha mo 2014: 217-219, 228-231 and 2014: 66-68, 74-76. Of great interest is that Karma bstan skyong dbang po cites older official documents/codes (*khriṃs yig rnying pa*) and the official document/code (*khriṃs yig*) of the Tshal pa, which I take to refer to Tshal pa myriarchy that was established in the thirteenth century when Tibet was under Mongol rule and occupation. Ehrhard 2015 is a study of the introductory matter of this code.

²⁰ For what follows, see Dalai Lama V 2009c: 64-65.

²¹ Dalai Lama V refers to the famous commentary on the *Vinayasūtra* by Mtsho sna ba Shes rab bzang po (13th-14th c.) where it is written that a real *kāṛṣāpaṇa* is made from silver and has the shape and design of a *dong tse*, "a coin"; see Mtsho sna ba 1993: 271-272. Mtsho sna ba cites the *Zhu 'grel* – this is the incomplete canonical *'Dul ba lung bla ma'i bye brag lung zhu ba'i 'grel pa* as his source for *dong tse*; - and that it was "made" by Dpal legs gtam/bltams [= ?]; see Bstān, vol. 88, 624. In his 1335 catalog of the Zhwa lu *Bstan 'gyur*, Bu ston notes that this work was authored by a Dge ba'i bshes gnyen [*Kalyāṇamitra, or a spiritual friend (*dge ba'i bshes gnyen*)], an exponent of the sutras, and that the text was incomplete at the beginning and at the end; see Bu ston 1971b: 613. "Dge ba'i bshes gnyen" appears to be a carving error for "Dge legs bshes gnyen" [*Kalyāṇamitra], the name of an author of numerous works on the *vinaya*. Laufer 1916: 506-507, no. 218, already pointed out that *dong tse* derives from Chinese *tongzi* 銅子. However, Tibetan *dong tse* [rtse] also translates Sanskrit *dīnāra* as in the *Abhidharmakośabhāṣya* where the Chinese equivalent is *jīnqian* 金錢; see Hirakawa et al. 1973: 182. Now that a number of earlier Tibetan studies commentaries on the *vinaya* have become available, it is incumbent on future research to make full use of these.

²² For more on the gold or silver *kāṛṣāpaṇa* and their values, see NGAG1[1], 740-741, and NGAG2, 438-439.

²³ The word *se ba* by itself can also refer to the red-winged rose for which De'u dmar Dge bshes Bstan 'dzin phun tshogs (1672-?), the great physician from Sde dge, appears to have *se ba'i me tog* in his *Dri med shel sgong / Dri med shel phreng* pharmacopeia of 1727; see De'u dmar Dge bshes 1986: 226. Pp. 211, 212, and 248 of the latter

explicitly mentions a Chinese lexeme; he writes²⁴:

*se ba zhes pa ni dmar ru la sogs pas gzhal bar bya ba'i lcid tshad
zhig gi ming yin gyi dmar ru sogs las logs su med do // de yang se
ba gcig gi tshad ni dmar rus gzhal na dmar ru che shos gcig gam
chung tshad gnyis kyi tshad dang mnyam / nas 'bras gzhal na nas
'bru gsum sam bzhi'i tshad dang mnyam / 'bras 'brus gzhal na
'bras 'bru drug yan gyi [435] tshad dang mnyam pa zhig yin no //
de ltar se ba gang gi tshad dmar ru gnyis kyi tshad la byas pa 'di
'thad par sems te / baidūr g.ya sel du'ang /*

*dmar ru'am ka ka ni gnyis la se ba / de nyi shu la
zho / zho bryad la srang gang...*

*zhes gsungs pa dang shin tu mthun pa'i phyir / de lta bu se ba gang
gi tshad rgya thur la 'degs^a na rgya'i hphun gang gi phyed longs
par myong bas grub pas / des na dmar ru bzhi'i lcid tshad la se ba
do dang / se ba do la rgya nag gi hphun gang dang bod kyi skar ma
gang yod ces kho bos smras pa yin no //*

^a NGAG1[1]: gdegs.

se ba is a term for a weight that is measured in rosary peas, etc., but it does not exist apart from rosary peas, etc. Moreover, the measure of one *se ba*, when it is measured in rosary peas, is equal to a measure of the largest rosary bead or to two small ones. When a *se ba* is measured in barley, it is equal to three or four grains (*nas 'bru*). If it is measured in rice grains (*'bras 'bru*), then it is equal to up to six rice grains. So, we think that to take the measure of a single (*gang*)²⁵ *se ba* to be the measure of two rosary peas is correct, because it is quite consistent with what is also stated in the *Baidūr g.ya sel*²⁶:

Two rosary peas or *ka ka ni*, a *se ba*; twenty of these, a bedda nut (*zho*), eight bedda nuts, a

work contain entries for *se yab*, flowering quince, *se 'bru*, pomegranate, and *se rgod*, rosa sertata. He writes anent the latter that it is called *ha tsi ki* and *kha 'bar ba*; in Chinese: *zur pa ting dang* and *gha kul*; and in the Mi nyag [= ?Xixia / Tangut or the language used in Khams Mi nyag] language: *to hi tis*, *phrom gyis*, and *kas bya*. The usual Chinese name for the *se rgod* is *qiangwei* 蔷薇. On the other hand, the Mongol physician Jambaldorj (< Tib. 'Jam dpal rdo rje) (?1792-?1855) gives the Chinese equivalent of *yeciwei* 野刺薇 in his *materia medica*; see 'Jam dpal rdo rje 1971: 120 [= Dge bsnen 'Jam dpal rdo rje 2008: 108].

²⁴ NGAG1[1], 734, and NGAG2, 434-435.

²⁵ Tibetan *gang* has the sense of "a single."

²⁶ Sde srang 1976: I, 563: *ma ru'am ka ka ni gnyis la se ba / de nyi shu la zho / zho bryad la gser srang...* Without textual support, he states that these valuations held for the period of the Tibetan religious kings (7th-9th c.).

single *srang*.

Accordingly, since it is established by experience that, when such a single *se ba* is weighed on a Chinese scale (*rgya thur*),²⁷ it amounts to half of a single Chinese *hphun* (< *fen* 分), we therefore say that the weight of four rosary peas involves a pair of *se ba* and that a pair of *se ba* involves a single Chinese *fen* and a single Tibetan *skar ma*.

If these relative values were not sufficiently confusing, we now enter a virtual morass of relative weights / measures and values. Turning to the Tibetan area proper, Ngag dbang bstan dar begins by stating that Tibetan is terminologically quite rich where *zho* and *srang* are concerned, and he writes that a golden *zho* has [a weight of] thirty-two *se ba* (*gser zho zhes pa se ba so gnyis can*) and that a *byes zho* of Lhasa weighs thirty-six *se ba*. Well aware of the possibility of adulterated coinage – he cites Dalai Lama II Dge 'dun rgya mtsho () who wrote that some had suggested that a *kārṣāpaṇa* is made from unadulterated silver (*dngul lhag med*) and that the *byes zho* of early Lhasa had a measure of sixty-six *se ba* (*sngar gyi lha sa'i byes zho se ba so drug gi tshad dang ldan pa yin*).²⁸ Ngag dbang bstan dar gives additional valuations for different *zho* and his source for this was evidently the work by De'u dmar Dge bshes that is titled *Lag len gcig bsdus*; he cites it as follows:

/ sa shed bzang ngan snyoms pa'i nas kyi 'bru /
/ drug la se ba gang gang de nyi shu /
/ nas 'bru brgyad [read: brgya] dang nyi shu byung ba de /
/ 'degs zho gang zhes yongs la grags pa'o /
/ se ba nyer bzhi mgur zho gang du bzhed /
/ se ba nyer lnga gzhung zho gang zhes pa /
/ de gsum snga bar phyi ma'i lugs gsum yin /

A work with the title of *Lag len gcig bsdus* is not explicitly found among De'u dmar Dge bshes' published writings. But these lines of verse bear great similarity with, even if they are not identical to, a passage that

²⁷ The term *rgya thur* suggests a *thur* of Chinese origin; see Laufer 1916: 522. Weights and measurements are of great importance for the preparation of medicines, and it is thus not surprising that De'u dmar Dge bshes should devote a reasonable amount of space to their discussion in De'u dmar Dge bshes 2007a: 832-834. There he appears to distinguish between two kinds of scales (or steelyard balances), a "black stick from China" (*rgya nag nas 'byung thur nag*) and a "large white bone stick" (*rus pa'i thur dkar che ba*). While I am not sure of this, NGAG1[1], 737, and NGAG2, 436, appear to distinguish between a *rgya'i thur* and a *rgya nag gi thur*, that is, an Indian and a Chinese scale?

²⁸ See Dalai Lama II 2006: 238 with slight variations. For what follows, see NGAG1[1], 738-739, and NGAG2, 437-438.

we find in a compendium titled the *Lag len gces rigs btus pa sman kun bcud du sgrub pa'i las kyi cho ga kun gsal snang mdzod*, which De'u dmar Dge bshes had written at the behest of a certain *sprul sku* Ba zal Padma dbang rgyal.²⁹ In fact, the readings are sufficiently close to allow for the conjecture that Ngag dbang bstan dar's *Lag len gcig bsdus* is none other than another manuscript of this work; there we read the following:

/ sa shed bzang ngan snyoms pa'i nas kyi 'bru /
 / che ba gsum la ra ti zhes su bshad [smra] /
 / ra ti gnyis te nas drug se ba gang /
 / se ba nyi shu [shur] ra ti bzhi bcu ste /
 / nas 'bru brgya dang nyi shu 'byung ba der /
 / 'degs zho gang zhes yongs la grags pa'o /
 / se ba nyer bzhir 'gur^a [bzhi mgur] zho gang du bzhed /
 / se ba nyer lngar^b [lnga] gzhung zho gang byed pa /
 / de gsum snga bar phyi ma'i lugs gsum yin /

^a Sublinear note: nas 'bru brgya dang bzhi bcu rtsa bzhi [zhe bzhi].

^b Sublinear note: nas 150 [nas 'bru brgya dang lnga bcu].

Three large barley grains of a good, bad or even ?fertile soil
 (sa shed),
 Are called a ra ti.³⁰
 Two ra ti, that is, six barley grains or a single se ba;
 Twenty se ba, forty ra ti;
 The occurrence of a hundred and twenty barley grains
 Is universally known as a 'degs zho.
 Twenty-four se ba are claimed to be a single mgur zho.
 Twenty-five make a single gzhung zho.
 These three are the early, middle, and later [measurement]
 traditions.

Aside from the otherwise little known *ra ti* unit of measurement, this passage thus isolates three different kinds of *zho*:

²⁹ Written posterior to his more famous *Dri med shel phreng* of 1727, which it cites, the passage in question of this rewarding work is found in De'u dmar Dge bshes 1957: 57a-b. The 1957 printing blocks of this *Lcags po ri* xylograph of his study is based on four manuscripts (*ma dpe*) that were in part edited by Mkhyen rab nor bu (1883-1962); see also De'u dmar Dge bshes 2007: 833-834. The variant readings in brackets are those of the 2007 publication. De'u dmar Dge bshes' considerations occur in the section (pp. 832-834) that is concerned with measures (*gshor tshad*) and weights ('*degs tshad*). Also known as '*jal tshad*, the first has two parts, the first dealing with measures in the medical tradition (*sman lugs*) and the second with measures that are in common use (*spyi lugs*, '*jig rten spyi lugs*).

³⁰ On the *ratī* (not *rati*), see Wilson 1855: 440 and Sircar 1968: *passim*.

1. one [?pre-]weighed *zho* ('*degs zho*) = twenty *se ba*
2. one market place *zho* (*mgur zho*) = twenty-four *se ba*
3. and a government *zho* (*gzhung zho*) = twenty-five *se ba*

Continuing with his quotation from what is ostensibly De'u dmar Dge bshes' work, Ngag dbang bstan dar writes:

/ *rgya nag nas rgya thur che ba dang* /
 / *tshong 'dus mgur mo'i zho la khyad par med* /
 / '*degs zho bcu la srang gang de la ni* /
 / *bod 'gar spor gang zhes pa'i tha snyad byed* /
 / *srang bzhi nyag gang de lnga khyor ba gang* /
 / *de bzhi khal gcig gam ni rgya [ma] gang bya* /

There is no difference between a large *rgya thur* From China³¹ and the *zho* of the Mgur mo market. Ten '*degs zho* is a single *srang*, In some Tibet[an areas], [a *srang*] is called a single *spor*. Four *srang*, a single *nyag* [or: *nya ga*];³² five of these, a single handful. Four of these are said to be a *khal* or a single *rgya [ma]*.

Earlier, De'u dmar Dge bshes had noted another *zho*, the so-called *gshor zho*, and he writes³³:

/*phul bzhi la* /
 / *bre gang zhes bya bre bzhi gshor zho yin* /
 / *gshor zho bzhi la gro na zhes bya ste* /
 / *gshor zho lnga la gshor khal gic tu 'dod* /

³¹ I do not quite know what to make of this, but here *rgya thur che ba* does not appear mean 'a large scale.' Rather, it must refer to a value. See also below.

³² De'u dmar Dge bshes 2007: 834 has an interesting gloss in which differences are noted between a Dbus and a Gtsang *nyag*, and between the Khyung po, Chab mdo, Lha thog *rgya ma*, etc. I leave these terms untranslated, since it is far from clear [to me] what exactly is indicated.

³³ De'u dmar Dge bshes 2007a: 832. This passage occurs in a paraphrase of passages that he cites from the fifth chapter of the *Aṣṭāṅgahrdayasamhitā* [BSTAN, vol. 111, 627-628], and Candranandana's (?10th c.) commentary on it [BSTAN, vol. 114, 217], and from an unidentified passage of Śālihotra's *Āśvāyurveda*; for the latter treatise, see Blondeau (1972: 37-110). He refers to the same sources, as well as to this work, in his later study of technology and the manufacture of various items and substances; see De'u dmar Dge bshes 2007b: 217-218 – there he cites A bo [= pho] Lnga 'Dzoms, a high-ranking person who is also referred to in Dmu dge Bsam gtan rgya mtsho's (1914-1993) narrative of the precipitous decline of Dalai Lama VI Tshang dbyangs rgya mtsho's (1683-1706) status as Dalai Lama; see Dmu dge Bsam gtan 1997: 190-191. Undated, De'u dmar Dge bshes' work was written at the behest of a number of individuals including the aforementioned Ba zal Padma dbang rgyal.

.....four *phul*,
 Are said to be one *bre*; four *bre* is a *gshor zho*.
 Four *gshor zho* are said to be a *gro na*.
 Five *gshor zho* are claimed to be one *khal*.

Ngag dbang bstan dar wrote immediately after he cited De'u dmar Dge bshes' line "Four of these are said to be either a *khal* or a whole *rgya*," that the majority of Tibetan intellectuals appear to have used fractions of a *zho* (*zho cha*) that were apparently common in the Mgur mo market and that according to De'u dmar Dge bshes the measure of its *zho* (*de'i zho tshad*), that is, the *zho* of the Mgur mo market.

A propos of the Mgur mo market, Dpa' bo II Gtsug lag phreng ba (1504-1566) remarked in his well-known chronicle that during the lifetime of Lo ston Rdo rje dbang phyug (10th c.) this market (*tshong 'dus*) was called the Rab kha market, and Ngag dbang bstan dar echoes this.³⁴ The Mgur mo market is located in Ru lag, to the southwest of Shigatse. It so happens that the well-known lover of lexemes A kyā [阿嘉] Yongs 'dzin Blo bzang don grub (1740-1827), alias Dbyangs can dga' ba'i rdo rje, had also something to say about this in connection with his gloss of *ma byin len gyi rin thang* where he wrote the following³⁵:

*bu ston rin po ches / tshong 'dus kyi mgur mo bzhin gsungs pa'i
 mgur mo ji lta bu yin zhes pa ni / dris tshig nor ba ste / tshong 'dus
 mgur mo'i bzhi nam zhes pa yin / de ni sngon dus gtsang gi phyogs
 bu ston rin po che'i gdan sa zha lu'i nye 'dabs su nyo tshong byed
 pa'i gnas shig byung ba la / ming tshong 'dus mgur mo zhes chags
 / de'i bzhi nam zhes pa tshong 'dus de'i gser zho gang gi bzhi cha
 yin par sems / zho srang gi tshad ni / nas gnyis la ma ru gcig / ma
 ru gsum la palla gcig / palla brgyad la dha ra na gcig / dha ra na
 gnyis la tshong 'dus mgur mo'i zho gang du brtsi bar bshad do //
 des na ma ru bzhi bcu zhe brgyad kyi lcid dang mnyam pa'i gser ni
 gser zho gang yin pas / de'i bzhi cha ma ru bcu gnyis kyi lcid dang
 mnyam pa'i gser se ba drug la bya'o // ma ru ni bal po'i sran ma
 dmar po nag thigs can de yin par bshad / ma byin len gyi rin thang
 gi tshad yig cha rnam su mkhas pa'i bzhed tshul sna tshogs bkod
 la / rdzas kyi rin thang dang / zho srang gi tshad sogs kyang yul
 dus kyi dbang gis 'gyur bas nges pa med phyr / mkhas pa mang
 pos / dngul zho gang ngam gser se ba gsum brkus na pham pa
 'byung ba yul dus kun tu nges pa yin gsung ngo // se ba ni [120]
 phal cher ma ru gnyis kyi lcid mnyam la bshad / 'ga' zhis tu ma ru
 gcig gi lcid mnyam la zer ba'ang 'dug ste / yul dus kyis zho srang*

³⁴ See, respectively, Dpa' bo II 1986: 473 and NGAG1[1], 739, and NGAG2, 437. Tshong 'dus Mgur mo is located in Ru lag, to the southwest of Shigatse.

³⁵ A kyā Yongs 'dzin 1971a: 119-120.

ga brtsi gzhi mi 'dra ba'i khyad du snang ngo //

To ask what is a *mgur mo* in precious Bu ston's statement "like (*bzhin*) the *mgur mo* of a market" is a wrongly worded question, that is, it is "is it four (*bzhi*) of the *Mgur mo* market? (*nam*)."³⁶ In early times, the *Mgur mo* was a place for buying and selling in the Gtsang region, close to Zhwa lu, the see of precious Bu ston, and it was called the *Mgur mo* market, and I think that the phrase "is it four of that?" means one quarter of a single golden *zho* of the *Mgur mo* market. The *zho* and *srang* are weight measures: It has been explained that for two barley grains, one rosary bead; for three rosary beads, one *pala*³⁷; for eight *pala*, one *dharāṇa*; one *dharāṇa* is reckoned as a single *zho* of the *Mgur mo* market. Hence, in as much as gold that is equal in weight to forty-eight rosary peas (*ma ru* = *dmarru*) is a single golden *zho*, one quarter should be six golden *se ba* which are equal in weight to twelve rosary peas. A *ma ru* is explained to be a red Nepalese bean with a black spot.³⁸ Various claims of the learned have been recorded in textbooks about the measures of the values of taking what is not given. But because the value of substances and the measure of the *zho* and *srang*, etc. are uncertain due to the changes in regions and time periods, many scholars have said that it is certain that one would have incurred a *pārājika-pham pa* violation in every region and at all time periods were one to steal a single silver *zho* or three golden *se ba*. A *se ba* is for the most part explained to be equal in weight to two rosary peas. In some sources, it is also suggested that it is equal in weight to one rosary pea; due to region and time period, there appears to be a difference on what basis a *zho* and a *srang* are calculated.

Ngag dbang bstan dar then cites A kyā II Blo bzang bstan pa'i rgyal mtshan's (1708-1768) miscellaneous writings (*gsung thor*), to wit, his *Rtsis kyi skor sna tshogs*,³⁹ a wonderful miscellany on the calendar, *skar*

³⁶ I have not found the source for this statement, neither in the relevant section of Bu ston's commentary on the *Ekottarakarmaśataka* - see Bu ston 1971a: 921 - nor in that of his 1356 commentary on Guṇaprabha's *Vinayasūtra* - see Bu ston 1971d: 314-315.

³⁷ The Tibetan equivalent of *pala* / *palla* is *srang*.

³⁸ Blo bzang rin chen (1810-1907), alias Sumatiratna, has this very line in his great Tibetan-Mongol lexicon: *ma ru ni bal po'i srin ma dmar po nag thigs can de yin par bshad*; see Sumatiratna 1959: II, 392. Chi Galsang 1982: 440 registers Mongol *ulayan burča*, "red pea/bean," and even *körüsü sirui*, "topsoil," for Tibetan *ma ru*.

³⁹ Undated, the *Mahā tsi na'i byang mtha' rgyal khab chen po pé kying gtso bor gyur pa'i byang phyogs kyi yul 'khor la 'os pa'i dus sbyor gyi rnam bzhas padmo'i tshal rab 'byed pa'i nyi ma gzhon nu* is but the first work of this miscellany [pp. 1055-1064] and ends with a colophon - it consists of five folios to which is added a table that is tellingly titled *Dus sbyor nyi gzhon ma!* Not every work in this collection was by A

rtsis-astronomy, *nag rtsis*-astrology, and, and the chronology of the historical Buddha's life, to the effect that⁴⁰:

*nas gnyis la dmar [ma] ru gcig / dmar [ma] ru gsum la pa la [palla]
gcig / palla brgyad la dha ra na gcig / dha ra na gcig la mgur mo'i
zho gang du brtsi'o //*

And this may of course have been the very source tapped by A kyā Yong 'dzin we met in his work that I just cited, since he was the tutor of A kyā III Ye shes bskal bzang rgya mtsho (1817-1869).

Just before this citation, Ngag dbang bstan dar then refers once again to De'u dmar Dge bshes and writes⁴¹:

*nas 'bru drug la se ba gang du byas pa'i se ba nyer bzhi'i tshad
dang [438] ldan zhing rgya nag gi rgya thur che ba dang mnyam
zer kyang / de ltar brtsi na se ba nyer bzhi la nas 'bru brgya zhe
bzhi thob cing / de chen [NGAG2, 438: chen] lung rgyal po'i ring gi
shī phing [NGAG2, 438: la shi thing] zer ba rgya thur che ba dang
bsdur na zho gang skar lnga yan longs pas na rgya thur dang tshad
mi mnyam par gsal /*

Although it is alleged that what has the measure of twenty-four *se ba*, where a single *se ba* is made up of six barley grains, is equal to a Chinese *rgya thur che ba*, if calculated accordingly, twenty-four *se ba* would obtain one hundred and forty-four barley grains and if one compares the so-called *shi thing / phing* of Qianlong's reign (1735-1796) with a large *rgya thur*, then it is clear that, insofar as a single *zho* exceeds five *skar*, it is not equal to a *rgya thur*.⁴²

kyā II. On pp. 1071-1075 [fols. 9a-11a], there is a short piece written by an Oirat Mongol who is referred to as Hu bil gān (< Mo. *qubilyan* = Tib. *sprul pa*['i sku]) Rab 'byams pa [gün] Paṇḍita. His tract on Buddhist chronology on pp. 1075-1104 [11a-25b] is dated 1760, but none of the others are. Portions of this miscellany were studied in Lobsang Yongdan 2018-2019.

⁴⁰ NGAG1[1], 739, and NGAG2, 438, citing A kyā II No date: 1164 [fol. 55b] – the variants of the latter are in square brackets. A kyā II's texts continues: *palla bcu bzhi la dha ṭa ka gcig ste / 'dir ma ru gsum la se ba phyed dor byed pas ma ru gnyis la se ba gang ngo // yang ma ru lnga la tam ma gcig / tam ma bcu drug la zho gang / zho bzhi la srang gang du brtsi bar snang bas / ma ru brgyad bcu la zho gang du byas pa'o // yang zur rtsis zhig la / se ba bco brgyad zho yi bcu cha dgu / zhes dang / se ba bcu drug zho yi lnga cha bzhi / zhes pa ltar na se ba nyi shu la zho gang du byas pa'o // yang nas₂ ma ru₁ gser se ba₁ rnam lcid mnyam zhing / bal tam la se ba nyer bzhi'i lcid yod zer ba'ang snang //*

⁴¹ NGAG1[1], 739, and NGAG2, 437-438.

⁴² My colleague Prof. Zhang Changhong of Sichuan University kindly suggested to read *shi ding* 十錠, "ten ingots," for Tibetan *shi thing / phing* but I am unclear how this might fit the narrative. Further, I am not at all sure what to do with a "large *rgya thur*."

And he uses the terms *dong tse* and *dong tse tā chen* (< 銅子?大钱) in connection with their respective valuations, and he refers to the relevant passages in what he calls the "three Indian commentaries."⁴³

Ngag dbang bstan dar quotes a passage from Sum pa Mkhan po Ye shes dpal 'byor's (1704-1788) *Dris lan rab dkar pa sangs* in which the latter points to the relativity of weights, measures and monetary valuations that exist in different regions and for different time periods. The implication that can be drawn from his remarks and those of Sum pa Mkhan po and A Kyā Yongs 'dzin is that this relativity creates problems for an assessment of how much needs to be stolen before it becomes a major infraction according to Buddhist canon law.⁴⁴ But it is especially in the third and last main portion of his work that Ngag dbang bstan dar draws repeated attention to this very relativity and from which we learn that he and other members of the Tibetan Buddhist clergy were ever so well aware, as they should be, of the importance of the maintenance of the rule of law in the land (*rgyal khrims*) and the degree to which its maintenance is a precondition for the maintenance of the clergy's proper behavior, one that is in accordance with canon law (*chos khrims*) and other norms.⁴⁵ And what is more, they were also cognizant of the fact that scarcity of goods, as for example during a famine, creates an upward pressure on prices and impacts

⁴³ NGAG1[1], 749, and NGAG2, 444. As is indicated in NGAG1[1], 742, and NGAG2, 439-440, these are Kamalaśīla's (8th c.) *Don brgyad ma* [= *Dge sbyong gi kā ri kā lnga bcu pa mdo tsam du bshad pa*, BSTAN, vol. 93, 733-799], *Shes rab byed pa* [= Prajñākara's *Vinayasūtraṅkyāna*, BSTAN, vol. 92, 3-733], and the '*Grel chung yon tan 'od ma* [= *Vinayasūtraṅrtti*, BSTAN, vol. 92, 737-1682]. In his Zhwa lu *Bstan 'gyur* catalog of 1335, Bu ston 1971b: 612 suggests that the third may have been of Tibetan origin (*bod ma*). However, twenty-two years later, in his survey of the *vinaya* and its literature of 1357, he wonders whether the second and third might have been Tibetan lecture notes (*bod kyi zin bris*); see Bu ston 1971c: 113. Two of the passages cited occur in BSTAN, vol. 93, 769; vol. 92, 872, but I have not been able to verify this statement in what is allegedly Prajñākara's work.

⁴⁴ NGAG1[1], 744, and NGAG2, 441, citing Sum pa Mkhan po 1975: 325-326. The latter reference occurs in the eleventh question of a series of some twenty-seven questions on a wide range of subjects, from religious practice to astronomy and Sanskrit-Tibetan prosody, posed to him by a certain Ngag dbang nyi ma on pp. 310-347. Sum pa Mkhan po's astute remarks deserve a separate study. Dngul chu Dharmabhadra (1772-1851) expresses a similar sentiment in his brief statement about theft in his many replies to equally many questions that were posed to him over time; see Dngul chu 1973-1981: 424-425. Recently, Dorji Wangchuk drew attention to a passage in the late Dung dkar Blo bzang 'phrin las' (1927-1997) encyclopedic dictionary in which the author opines that the so-called third "great decree" (*bkas bcad chen po*) issued during the reign of Khri gtsug lde btsan (r. 815/818-836/838), alias Ral pa can, was concerned with achieving parity between Magadha-Indian and Tibetan weights and measures; see Wangchuk 2020: 950-951.

⁴⁵ See, for example, the passage in NGAG1[1], 750, and NGAG2, 444-445, in which Mtsho sna ba 1993: 270, 271 is cited.

the stability of monetary values. We can expect that the strength of the rule of law and its application will have a bearing on the prevalence of infractions, theft among them, within the community of the clergy. The degrees to which local, regional law (*yul khrims*) or customary law (*'bangs khrims*) may have played a role in these determinations are of course questions that need further study. Here, my translations of *yul khrims* and *'bangs khrims* are tentative. The first occurs in a version of the *Bka' chems ka khol ma*, where we read that "Srong btsan sgam po created the good *yul khrims*."⁴⁶ Here, *yul khrims* may also be an abbreviation or short for *yul gyi khrims*, "law of the land," in the sense of the law in the country under his domain. The *Blon po bka'i thang yig* of U rgyan gling pa (1323-?) enumerates in one breath *rgyal khrims*, *chos khrims*, and *'bangs khrims*, suggesting thereby a distinction between the first and the last.⁴⁷ Commenting on the final five-hundred year period of the five thousand year duration of the Buddha's teaching, when all is about to go to hell, U rgyan gling pa's *Rgyal po bka'i thang yig* uses the phrase *'bangs kyi mi chos*, which I submit is a phrase that is closely associated with the term *'bangs khrims*⁴⁸:

/ rab tu 'byung ba'i mkhan slob yul gzhi stongs /
/ rgyal po'i bka khrims nyi ma lta bu rgas /
/ 'bangs kyi mi chos sog ma'i phon thag gcod /
/ bla mchod chos khrims dar mdud lta bu grol /

The world has been emptied of renunciate abbots and
masters.⁴⁹
The king's laws have weakened like the sun.⁵⁰
The popular religion of the people has the straw rope cut.⁵¹
The religious law of the court chaplains becomes loose like
a silk knot.

Referring to Chinese lexemes as *rgya skad* or *rgya nag gi skad*, Ngag dbang bstan dar also made several references to Chinese in the *Gangs can gyi brda' gсар rnying las brtsams pa'i brda' yig blo gsal mgrin rgyan*, his important, undated study of archaisms (*brda rnying*) and their updates

⁴⁶ Smon lam rgya mtsho 1989: 315.

⁴⁷ U rgyan gling pa 1986: 520. U rgyan gling pa 1986: 446 contains a narrative in which all four notions of *khrims* find a place.

⁴⁸ U rgyan gling pa 1986: 108.

⁴⁹ It is possible to read *slob* as *slob dpon*, the master who aids in the ordination ceremony, or as *slob ma*, the student who is to be ordained.

⁵⁰ I can only understand *rgas* in the sense that the sun's heat has grown weaker towards the end of the year.

⁵¹ The straw rope (*sog ma'i phon thag*) motif also occurs in connection with the idea of *'bangs khrims* in U rgyan gling pa 1986: 446: / *'bangs khrims sog ma'i phon thag mang yang 'dus* /.

(*brda gsar*), a literary genre of which M. Taube has given an impressive, if now somewhat dated, survey⁵²; he writes⁵³:

1. *khyogs ni mi chen sogs 'degs byed de / rgya'i skad du kyo zer ba de yin zhing.....*

A *khyogs* is that which carries important persons; in Chinese, it is called *kyo* [*jiao* 轎, sedan chair].⁵⁴

2. *dan kong ni 'jim pa las byas pa'i ril bu skam po 'phen pa'i gzhu'o 'di rgya nag gi skad yin /*

A *dan kong* is the slingshot that shoots a dry globe made of clay; this is Chinese [*dan gong* 彈弓].

3. *phrag rdang gi khur ni shing ring po'i phan tshun snye la khres^a po dpyang ste phrag pas khur ba'o // rgya'i skad du thi'o dan zer ro //*

^a NGAG2, 655: *khri*s.

A *phrag rdang gi khur* is a load that dangles on the mutual support of a long pole, and it is carried on the shoulders. In Chinese, it is called *tiaodan* 挑担.

4. *phyags ma ni sdud byed dang dag byed / rgya'i skad du swo kyo'u /*

A *phyags ma*-broom is what gathers and cleans; in Chinese *saozhou* 扫帚.

5. *sho gam ni rgya'i skad du shu'u / sog skad du ha'i li zer /*

sho gam-tax in Chinese is called *shui* 税 and in Mongol *γaili*.

6. *shod thabs ni brtsi grangs brtsis pa'i thabs te rgya nag gi skad du swa phan dang bod kyi brtsi gzhong dang sa gzhong lta bu'o //*

A *shod thabs*-abacus is a means for calculating numbers; it is *suanpan* 算盘 in Chinese and it is like the Tibetan *brtsi gzhong* and *sa gzhong*.⁵⁵

⁵² Taube 1978.

⁵³ NGAG1[2], 317, 355, 367 [2x], 401 [2x], 406, and NGAG2, 626, 648, 655 [2x], 674 [2x], 677.

⁵⁴ The word *khyogs* is glossed by *kyā'o* [*jiao* 轎] in his commentary on Mkhas grub Dge legs dpal bzang po's (1385-1438) praise of his teacher Tsong kha pa, his famous *Bstod pa dad pa'i rol mtsho*, in NGAG1[2], 33, and NGAG2, 467. For this work, see van der Kuijp 2022.

⁵⁵ For the abacus and its use in Tibet, see Schuh 2012: xxxvi ff. and 2012a: 694-697.

7. *slo ma ni zhib ma ste de yang glang ma dang smyug ma sogs las bzos pa'i snod sgor mo ste rgya nag gi skad du pha'o lū zer /*

A *slo ma*-basket is a *zhib ma*. Further, a round container/basket that is made from willow reed and/or bamboo; in Chinese, it is called *beilou* 背篓.

In his undated and fragmentary *Yi ge'i mtha' dpyod ma dag pa'i dri ma 'khrud pa'i chab gtsang*, Ngag dbang bstan dar deals with a number of orthographic ambiguities and mistakes that he culled from a host of orthographic dictionaries (*dag yig*) and xylographs.⁵⁶ Even if some Tibetan authors have suggested that several earlier works belonged to the Tibetan literary genre of the *dag yig*, the expression first seems to have made its appearance in an actual title as late as the thirteenth century with Snye thang Grags pa seng ge's *Dag yig ganggā'i chu rgyun* - this work has not [yet] come down to us, but it is mentioned in various later specimen that belong to the *dag yig* genre. True, Ngag dbang bstan dar refers to a *dag yig* tract by Rngog Lo tsā ba Blo ldan shes rab (ca.1059-1109), which can only be the *Dag yig nyer mkho bsdus pa*, but the jury is still out on whether it was correctly attributed to him.⁵⁷ I personally doubt this very much, since it contains the disparaging expression *hor 'dra*, "Mongol-like," which only gained currency during the Mongol occupation of Central Tibet (1240-1368) and was unknown prior to this time.⁵⁸ Tax-collectors were often called *hor 'dra*. Among the many Tibetan authors who wrote *dag yig* works, Ngag dbang bstan dar cites three of the better-known representatives of the genre several times. In addition, he also cites a piece on correct orthography that Dalai Lama VII Skal bzang rgya mtsho (1708-1757) had written in response to some philological queries that the translator Tā bla ma Kau shrī Shes rab rgya mtsho had sent him from Beijing.⁵⁹ In the course of his deliberations in the *Yi ge'i mtha' dpyod ma dag pa'i dri ma 'khrud pa'i chab gtsang*, Ngag dbang bstan dar refers to Chinese on the two

⁵⁶ NGAG1[2], 585-610, and NGAG2, 781-795.

⁵⁷ He refers to it in NGAG1[2], 590, and NGAG2, 782. Gser tog Blo bzang tshul khri ms rgya mtsho (1845-1915) quotes a passage from what is *allegedly* Rngog Lo tsā ba's work in his 1891 study of Tibetan grammar; see Gser tog 2005: 86b *ad* Rngog Lo tsā ba 2006: 2b-3a [96-97] -, and it was studied in Miller 1976: 72. A kyā Yongs 'dzin cites another passage, Rngog Lo tsā ba 2006: 3a [97], in his undated work on Tibetan grammar; see A kya Yongs 'dzin 1971a: 432. Miller 1976: 78-80 also studied a passage from what turns out to be Ngag dbang bstan dar's *Sum cu pa dang rtags 'jug gi don go sla bar bsdus pa'i bshad pa skal ldan yid kyi pad ma 'byed pa'i snang mdzod*, for which see NGAG1[2], 160 and NGAG2, 540.

⁵⁸ Rngog Lo tsā ba 2006: 4b [100].

⁵⁹ NGAG1[2], 592, and NGAG2, 784; the possibly incomplete work in question is Dalai Lama VII 1975, and the cited passage occurs therein on p. 122.

occasions,⁶⁰ of which only the first is relevant here:

*spa dbyug ces pa dang sba dbyug ces pa sde tshan bzhi pa'i dang po
dang gsum pa / [587] gnyis yod pa ltar gnyis ka 'thad de / byams
pa gling pa'i smra rgyan du /*

/ spa dang spa ma'i nags su sdod /

*ces gsungs pas spa ma'i nags yod na spa shing yod par grub cing /
spa shing yod na spa dbyug kyang grub la / der ma zad za ma tog
tu /*

/ sprang^a po'i spar mor spa dbyug 'chang /

^aNGAG1[2], 587, and NGAG2, 781: *spyang*.

zhes dang / ngag sgron du /

/ sprang po'i spar mor spa dbyug sprad /

*ces byung bas spa dbyug yod pa gdon mi za'o // sba dbyug ces
pa'ang yod pa yin te / ngag sgron du /*

/ sbyag tshe lus sbrid sba 'khar sbom /

zhes pa'i sba 'khar de sba dbyug las 'os med cing / smra rgyan du /

/ da dung sbyag na sba dbyug bsten /

*ces gsal por byung bas sba dbyug kyang grub bo // [588] des na
rnam thar sogs su bshad pa'i sba dbyug ni rgya nag gi skad du
theng tse zer zhing rgya'i yul du lcag yu byas pa de yin snyam
zhing / spa shing gi ngos 'dzin ma mthong yang gong du drangs
pa'i dag yig rnam kyi lung so sor yod pa bzhin shing gi rigs kyang
so so ba e yin snyam /*

As there are both words *spa dbyug*, "bamboo walking stick," and *sba dbyug*, "rattan stick," with the first and the third of the fourth category of the Tibetan alphasyllables/graphs, both are correct; since the phrase

"Bamboo and staying in a bamboo forest..."

⁶⁰ NGAG1[2], 586-588, 593, and NGAG2, 781, 784. The second has to do with the old Tibetan expression *rgya nag stong khun, tong kun*, etc. for which see the illuminating article in van Schaik 2013b. One slight correction can be made, the Rol pa'i rdo rje mentioned therein is not Karma pa IV, but Lcang skyā III (1717-1786); see van der Kuijp 2010: 125, n. 104.

is stated in Byams pa gling pa Pañ chen Bsod nams rgyal ba'i sde's (1400-1475) *Smra rgyan*,⁶¹ it is established that when there is a bamboo forest, there is bamboo and that when there is bamboo, there is also a bamboo walking stick. And not only that, since

"A bamboo walking stick is held in the hand of the beggar."

occurs in Zhwa lu Lo tsā ba's *Za ma tog*⁶² of 1514 and since,

"Giving a bamboo walking stick in the beggar's hand."

occurs in Dpal khang Lo tsā ba Ngag dbang chos kyi rgya mtsho's (16th c.) *Ngag sgron* of 1538,⁶³ the expression "a

⁶¹ Byams gling Pañ chen 2014: 355. The *Smra rgyan* dates from 1419 and was thus written when the author was a teenager!

⁶² Zhwa lu Lo tsā ba No date: fol. 31a; 2002: 82-83; and 2014: 70; Zhwa lu Lo tsā ba's work was partly studied in Laufer 1898 where, however, this line was not translated; see now also R. Kaschewsky's study of the bilingual Tibetan-Mongol text of this dictionary where we read this line in Kaschewsky 2017: 120: "[in Tibetan] *spyang po'i spar mor spa sbyug 'chang*. [in Mongol:] *kersegüü-yi-yin adqun-dur spa beriy-e barimu*. [in German:] klug. Wanderstab in der Hand halten." He noted the variant *sprang po'i* for *spyang po'i* – we find the same in No date: 31a where *spyang po* is given a Sanskrit equivalent! – and that Tibetan *spa* was not given a Mongol translation. The bilingual Tibetan-Mongol xylograph of this work was published in Zhwa lu Lo tsā ba 1981, where the line is found on fol. 38b [5890]. The Tibetan carver of the blocks, the Mongol translator, and the editor[s] mistook the correct Tibetan *sprang po'i* for *spyang po'i* and then misread *spyang po'i* for *sbyang po'i* so that the Mongol translation would read *kersegüü-yi-yin*, "intelligent." To be sure, the Mongol equivalent of *sprang po*, "beggar," is *yuilinči*. The basic text dates from 1514 and was completed at Grwa thang monastery. The manuscript replete with many Sanskrit glosses on which the undated xylograph [with Tibetan and Chinese pagination] is based dates from a text that was completed in Bsam grub bde chen, in 1526.

⁶³ Dpal khang Lo tsā ba 2014a: 19. The year of his birth is sometimes given as 1456, but, as far as I am aware, there is no evidence for this. Dpal khang Lo tsā ba is also known as Karma 'phrin las pa II, as if he were the reembodiment of Karma 'phrin las pa I (1456-1539). This is not the case. A collection of his letters, poetic admonitions, and other ephemera contains *inter alia* a long, undated letter to Karma 'phrin las pa I; see Dpal khang Lo tsā ba No date: 16a-19a. The *Bod kyi brda'i bye brag gsal bar byed pa'i bstan bcos tshig le'ur byas pa mkhas pa'i ngag gi sgron ma'i 'grel pa bdud rtsi'i dga' ston* on occasion parades as an autocommentary on the *Ngag sgron*. Contained in Dpal khang Lo tsā ba 2014, its table of contents states that Dpal khang Lo tsā ba was its author. The colophon [pp. 189-190] clearly disputes this claim and in fact its author turns out to be a certain *bkṣu (sic!) sum (sic!) ti gu ṇa* [= *bhikṣu* Blo bzang yon tan], who completed this work in 1848 in Bshad sgrub dga' tshal in Bde mo thang, Amdo. Once again using *bi kṣu su ma ti gu ṇa* as his name, he is without

bamboo walking stick," too, exists without a doubt. There is also the word *sba sbyug*. There is no possibility that the *sba 'khar* ("bamboo/rattan cane") that is stated in the *Ngag sgron*⁶⁴:

"Frail, numb, cane, corpulent"

is other than the *sba sbyug*, and *sba dbyug* is moreover established, since the *Smra rgyan* has clearly stated⁶⁵:

Nowadays, if you lose weight, you rely on a cane"

Hence, the *sba dbyug* that is mentioned in biographies, etc. is called *tengzi* 藤子 in Chinese and I think that it is called whip-handle (*lcag [gi] yu [ba]*) in China. Although I have not seen identifications of the *spa shing*, "*spa tree*," I wonder whether just as there are a variety passages of the orthographic dictionaries that were cited above, there would also not be several species of trees.⁶⁶

Finally, aside from the aforementioned lexemes, he makes one pertinent, if elementary, remark a propos of the Chinese language that is spoken in northern China in his undated study of the Tibetan language titled *Yi ge'i bshad pa mkhas pa'i kha rgyan*. Contrasting Chinese with Sanskrit, Tibetan, and Mongol, he writes⁶⁷:

rgya gar dang bod dang sog po gsum la rnam dbye brgyad med mi rung zhing^a rgya nag la rnam dbye gtan nas mi dgos par / tshig gong 'og brje ba'i khyad par tsam las ming thams cad brjod par 'dod cing / rnam dbye'i tshab tu phing / nang / chus / bzhu'u zhes pa bzhi 'dod cing / de yang dbyangs sam nga ro yin par mngon pas / phing zhes pa dbugs cha snyom pa'i shugs kyis [247] thon pa dang / shang^b zhes pa dbugs gyen du btegs pa'i shugs kyis thon pa dang / chus zhes pas dbugs thad kar phyir 'phul ba'i shugs kyis thon pa

doubt also the author of the 1837 biography of Blo bzang 'jam dbyangs phyogs las rnam rgyal, alias Tshangs sras sgeg pa'i rdo rje (1789-1808), for which see Blo bzang yon tan No date. Indications are that Tshangs sras sgeg pa'i rdo rje was a precious and a precocious talent, who passed away way too young.

⁶⁴ Dpal khang Lo tsā ba 2014a: 21, where we read *mkhar* instead of '*khar*.

⁶⁵ Byams gling Pañ chen 2014: 360.

⁶⁶ A kyā Yongs 'dzin 1971a: 120-121 has something similar to say about *sba smyug* and *sba dbyug* and does not set store by the *spa/sba* variant, which he says seem to be based on synonymy (*don gcig pa 'dra*).

⁶⁷ NGAG1[2], 246-247, and NGAG2, 587. It is interesting that he shows a broad appreciation of language as such. This is not the case with Sum pa Mkhan po, his senior contemporary and as well ethnically a Mongol, whose works on orthography and on what may be called the language arts (*sgra rig*) focuses solely on Tibetan and Sanskrit.

*dang / bzhu'u zhes pa dbugs thur du phyung ba'i shugs kyis thon
pa dang / ming gang brjod kyang brjod tshul bzhi po 'di las ma 'das
zer ro //*

^a NGAG1[2], 246, adds /. ^b NGAG2, 587: *nang*.

Case endings in Sanskrit, Tibetan and Mongol are indispensable and while Chinese never had a need for a case ending, it is asserted that all characters (*ming*) are expressed based on the mere difference in the interchange of their word order. And as a substitute for a case ending, it asserts the four [tones] of level (*phing* < Ch. *ping* 平), rising (*shang* < Ch. *shang* 上), departing (*chus* < Ch. *qu* 去), and entering (*bzhu'u* < Ch. *ru* 入). Further, since it is obvious that these involve voice (*dbyangs*) and pitch (*nga ro*),⁶⁸ the level tone is articulated with the force of an even exhalation, the rising tone is articulated with the force of an upwardly raised exhalation, the departing tone is articulated with the force of a pulled back and straight forward exhalation, and the entering tone is articulated with the force of a downward exhalation. And it is alleged that no matter what word is spoken, it does not go beyond these four manners of articulation.

In addition to writing on Tibetan grammar⁶⁹ and the Tibetan alphasyllabary and orthotactics, Ngag dbang bstan dar also authored a Mongol grammar, the *Kelen-ü čimeg* or *Language Ornament* of 1794, which was studied by Taube and others, and a Tibetan-Mongol dictionary.⁷⁰ These were not included in the Tibetan editions of his oeuvre.

Postscript One: Many years ago, I surmised that the deep engagement with spelling and the study of language and grammar that we witness in such learned men as Ngag dbang bstan dar and A kyā Yongs 'dzin - we can add the names of Si tu Pañ chen and Sum pa Mkhān po -, may have been in part a reflex of the Qing dynasty's philological concerns, its *hanxue* 汉学. Both men lived in the Sino-Tibetan marches and at least Ngag dbang bstan dar had also worked in Beijing - there is evidence that Ngag dbang bstan dar was familiar with A kyā Yongs 'dzin, for he refers to one of his lexicographic glosses in his 1834 commentary

⁶⁸ I follow here the 1624 commentary of A mes zhabs Ngag dbang kun dga' bsod nams (1597-1659) on Sa skyā Pañḍita Kun dga' rgyal mtshan's (1182-1251) *Rol mo'i bstan bcos*, his essay on music; see A mes zhabs 2012: 146, 149.

⁶⁹ See his *Sum ca pa dang rtags 'jug gi don go sla bar bsodus pa'i bshad pa skal bzang yid kyi pad ma 'byed pa'i snang ba'i mdzod* in NGAG1[2], 115-214, and NGAG2, 538-569, and the brief remark in Tillemans 2007: 54-55.

⁷⁰ See, respectively, Taube 1961 and A lag sha Ngag dbang bstan dar 1982.

on Candragomin's (5th c.) *Śiṣyalekha*.⁷¹ But I now believe that this impression of mine was too hastily formed and, in fact, was quite wrong, so that I now wish to distance myself from it. Instead, I would suggest that their interest in grammar and lexicography had to do with them living at the end of an intellectual environment in the formation of which they were late participants. This environment was characterized by the printing [and publication] of large-scale literary collections such as the canon, Kanjur and Tanjur, and a good number of editions of the collected oeuvre of many leading Tibetan scholars, past and present, and as well the scholarly milieu that contributed to this. There is no question that the great Si tu Paṅ chen also fits very well in this milieu. He was not only deeply concerned with both Sanskrit and Tibetan grammar and lexicography but was also engaged in editing the Kanjur portion of the Tibetan Buddhist canon. Working on editing the canon went in tandem with the inception of a specific genre of Tibetan lexicography that the earliest treatise in which what were considered to be lexical archaisms (*brda rnying*) were given their updated equivalents (*brda gsar*). I am thinking here of the little text that came from the pen of Dbus pa Blo gsal, whose nickname was Rtsod pa'i seng ge (ca.1270-ca.1355).⁷² We find a brief mention of the notion of an archaic or dated lexeme plus three examples in Sa skya Paṅḍita's celebrated treatise on what a person who aspires to scholarship should know.⁷³ But there seems to be little room to doubt that, contrary to Sa skya Paṅḍita's brief mention, Dbus pa Blo gsal's work should be viewed by bearing in mind that he was *inter alia* the editor-compiler of the Snar thang Tanjur manuscript of the 1310s.

Postscript Two: In Part One of this essay – van der Kuijp 2019: 288, n. 5 -, I mentioned Se cen Mgon po skyabs' bilingual Tibetan-Chinese materia medica, at least this was how the author of this work was identified. I had forgotten that L. Chandra had reproduced a xylograph of this work titled *Sman ming bod dang rgya'i skad shan sbyar ba*, the accompanying Chinese and Mongol titles of which are *Fan han yaoming* 番漢

⁷¹ NGAG1[1], 636, and NGAG2, 379, where he refers to A kyā Yongs 'dzin glossing *bya gar* with *bya gag*; see A kyā Yongs 'dzin 1971c: 208.

⁷² First published in Mimaki 1990, which is based on Dbus pa Blo gsal 1983. For similar texts with different titles that are ascribed to Dbus pa Blo gsal, see van der Kuijp 2009b: 128, n. 2. A somewhat different manuscript of this work has now become available, for which see Dbus pa Blo gsal No date. The latter has been wrongly included in a collection of several works by his namesake. This person must have flourished in the fifteenth and sixteenth century, since, in some of the writings contained in this collection, the author mentions his teacher Rdo ring Kun spangs pa, who must certainly be identified as Kun bzang chos kyi nyi ma (1449-1524).

⁷³ Sa skya Paṅḍita Kun dga' rgyal mtshan 2007: 15.

藥名 and *Em-iin ner-e töbed kitad qadamal iige*.⁷⁴ Also published by Chandra, the so-called *Sman sna tshogs kyi per chad* is nothing but a somewhat incomplete manuscript copy of the *Sman ming bod dang rgya'i skad shan sbyar ba*.⁷⁵ The introductory note, the section headings, and the concluding remarks plus the printer's colophon are given in both Tibetan and Mongol; the printer's colophon reads:

...slar yang yung ceng gi gnam lo bcu gnyis pa shing stag dbyar
[14a] zla 'bring po'i tshes bzang la spar 'di skyar brkos byas pa yin
no // dge'o //

...again, the blocks were carved once more on Yongzheng twelve, the wood-tiger year, the "good day"⁷⁶ of the intermediate-summer month.

Thus, the xylograph probably dates from printing blocks that were prepared on June 11, 1734.

Appendix

The Structure of the *Ma byin len gyi pham pa'i rin thang gi tshad bshad pa*

'khrul spong mkhas pa'i dgyes byed mchod yon rnam dag⁷⁷

Ngag dbang bstan dar begins his work with the usual statement of homage and verses of obeisance. Just prior to the main body of his text, he ends his preamble with two verses. Waxing poetic, he states in the first that earlier generations of scholars, who were not able to drink the muddy water of how to go about valuating things, neglected to deal with this in a comprehensive fashion. But help is on the way, and he writes in the second verse:

bdag gi rnam dpyod nor bu ke ta kas //
rnyog ma gang de legs par bgrungs byas nas //
legs par bshad pa'i mchod yon gtsang ma'i chab //

⁷⁴ Se cen Mgon po skyabs 1980a. Laufer 1916: 440-441 reacted quite vehemently, but rightly, against Hübotter 1913 for the many mistakes he had made in his book that was based on Se cen's work. A revised edition appeared in Hübotter 1957. On F. Hübotter (1881-1967) and his contributions, see the interesting capsule scientific biography in Schnorrenberger 2010: 157-159.

⁷⁵ Se cen Mgon po skyabs 1980b.

⁷⁶ Not specified which *bzang po* day of the month, I, rightly or wrongly, take it to be the first one which is equivalent to the second day of the first week of the month.

⁷⁷ For the text, see above n. 2.

deng 'dir sbreng ngo mkhas rnams 'dir 'dus shig //

Having appropriately strained whatever impurities there
were,
With the Ke ta ka gem⁷⁸ of my intellect,
The pure water, a gift that is well-articulated,
Is now decanted in this treatise; may the learned gather here!

The Indian Buddhist literature on canon law was quite explicit that theft is a significant infraction for the mores of the Buddhist monastic community, but it was not always clear on how much of value needed to be stolen that would result in the culprit's expulsion or excommunication from the community, that is to say, when it would constitute an actual transgression or downfall. At the same time, what in fact constitutes theft, intentional or otherwise, was also a much-debated issue. Standards of measurements and valuation and their terminologies no doubt varied from region to region in the Indian subcontinent, never mind the variations that would occur during the passage of more than a thousand years of the Indian Buddhist literature that was then ultimately translated wholesale into Tibetan. In addition, we can be sure that measurements and valuations also fluctuated in the Tibetan area. This made things exceedingly complicated. Underterred and without historicizing his sources, Ngag dbang bstan dar valiantly tackled the subject of value and currencies in the following three main sections and a number of subsections:

1. An explanation of the measure of a *zho* and a *srang*
NGAG1[1], 732-740, and NGAG2, 433-438
 - 1a. A general explanation of *zho* and *srang*
NGAG1[1], 732-734, and NGAG2, 433-438
 - 1b. The value of *zho* (**karṣa*) and *srang* (**pala*) of the Holy Land [India]
NGAG1[1], 734-738, and NGAG2, 433-437
 - 1c. The value of *zho* and *srang* of Tibet
NGAG1[1], 738-740, and NGAG2, 437-438
2. An explanation of the measurement of value
NGAG1[1], 740-749, and NGAG2, 438-444

⁷⁸ This mythical "purificatory" gem is of Indic origin and is already found mentioned in the **Āryamūlasarvāstivādaśramaṇerakārikā*, in BSTAN, vol. 93, 168, that is attributed to Śākyaprabha.

- 2a. Inquiry into the things that form the basis of value
NGAG1[1], 740-741, and NGAG2, 438-439
- 2b. How these are stated by Indian scholars
NGAG1[1], 741-743, and NGAG2, 439-440
- 2c. How they are commented on by Tibetan scholars
NGAG1[1], 741-743, and NGAG2, 440-442
- 2d. Inquiry into what and what is not correct about these
ways
NGAG1[1], 743-749, and NGAG2, 442-444
- 3. An exposition of my own position
NGAG1[1], 749-755, and NGAG2, 444-448

What now follows is a listing of Ngag dbang bstan dar's citations of Tibetan authors *and* their works in the order in which they are cited for the first time (multiple citations are not registered and the dates of authors already given in the main body of my paper or in the footnotes are not repeated here):

- 1. Dalai Lama V Ngag dbang blo bzang rgya mtsho
Las mchog gser mdog rnam rgyal
- 1a. Cites: Zhwa lu Lo tsā ba Chos skyong bzang po
Dris lan
- 2. Sde srid Sangs rgyas rgya mtsho
Baidūr g.ya sel
- 3. Skyed tshal Mkhan po Kun dga' chos bzang (1433-1503)
'Dul ba spyi don lung rigs gter mdzod
- 4. Rgyal ba Dge 'dun rgya mtsho
Bslab bya lag len gsal ba'i sgron me
- 5. [De'u dmar Dge bshes] Bstan 'dzin phun tshogs
Lag len gcig bsduṣ
- 6. Gtsang gi Lo ston Rdo rje dbang phyug (?10th c.)
- 7. A kyā II Blo bzang bstan pa'i rgyal mtshan
Gsung thor bu [= Rtsis skor sna tshogs]
- 8. Lo chen Chos skyong bzang po [= Zhwa lu Lo tsā ba]
- 9. Thams cad mkhyen pa Skal bzang rgya mtsho (1708-1757)
Dris lan dpyod ldan yid kyi shing rta
- 10. Kun mkhyen Mtsho sna ba [Shes rab bzang po]
Legs bshad nyi ma'i od zer
- 11. Mkhas pa Dmar ston (?-?)

12. 'Dul 'dzin Grags pa dpal ldan, alias 'Dul 'dzin Blo gros bas pa (1400-1475)
Ka ri ka'i ñik chen legs bshad chu rgyun
13. Sum pa Mkhan po Ye shes dpal 'byor
Dris lan rab dkar pa sangs
14. Rgyal ba Dge 'dun grub
'Dul ñik rin chen phreng ba
15. [Rgyal ba] Dge 'dun rgya mtsho
Bslab bya lag len gsal ba'i sgron me
16. Pañ chen Bsod nams grags pa (1478-1554)
'Dul ba lung rigs kyi nyi ma
- 16a. Cites: *Gtsang ñik rin chen phreng ba'i dgongs pa rmad du byung ba*
17. Dkyil khang pa Blo gros legs bzang (?-?)
'Dul ba rin chen phreng ba'i dgongs rgyan
18. Kun mkhyen 'Jam dbyangs bzhad pa I
'Dul ba skal bzang re ba kun skong
19. Kun mkhyen 'Jam dbyangs bzhad pa I
'Dul ba'i mtha' dpyod
20. Yongs 'dzin Ye shes rgyal mtshan
Bslab bya 'od ldan snying po
21. Rgya 'Dul 'dzin pa [?Dbang phyug tshul khriims (11th c.)]
22. Sbal ti Brtson 'grus dbang phyug (1129-1215)
23. Red mda' ba Gzhon nu blo gros (1349-1413)
24. Spyan snga Blo gros rgyal mtshan
Bslab bya 'od phreng
Bslab bya gzhan phan snying po
25. A kyā II Blo bzang bstan pa'i rgyal mtshan
'Dul ba rgya mtsho'i snying po'i rnam bshad 'phags nor rin chen 'dren pa'i gru gzings

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